

## INFORMATION REPORT INFORMATION REPORT

## CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

PROCESSING COPY

This material contains information affecting the National Defense of the United States within the meaning of the Espionage Laws, Title 18, U.S.C. Secs. 793 and 794, the transmission or revelation of which in any manner to an unauthorized person is prohibited by law.

S-E-C-R-E-T

25X1

COUNTRY	USSR (Caucasian Republics)	REPORT	
SUBJECT	Four Studies on Various Aspects of Life in the Caucasian Republics	DATE DISTR.	25 July 1957
		NO. PAGES	1
		REQUIREMENT NO.	
DATE OF INFO.		REFERENCES	
PLACE & DATE ACQ.			

25X1

25X1

SOURCE EVALUATIONS ARE DEFINITIVE. APPRAISAL OF CONTENT IS TENTATIVE.

25X1

- Four studies on various aspects of Soviet life in the Caucasian republics. No attempt has been made to edit these studies. The possibility exists that these studies may appear later in part or as a whole in the emigre press. When detached from this cover sheet, the studies may be UNCLASSIFIED but FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY. 25X1
- The first study is a 23-page series of articles contrasting the realities of life in the USSR with the claims of Soviet propaganda. Particular attention is given to the Return to the Fatherland Campaign, with examples of the dreadful fates awaiting returnees as opposed to the glowing accounts presented by the Soviet publication, Za vozvrashcheniye ra yodinu.
- The second study is a three-page description, with examples, of the characteristics of personal names and customs of the various Caucasian nationalities, particularly the Ossetians. The third document is three pages and concerns the condemnation of Beriia and repercussions in the Caucasian republics of his downfall. The fourth article, of seven pages, deals with the technological level and daily work of newspaper printing houses in the North Ossetian ASSR.

25X1

S-E-C-R-E-T

STATE	X	ARMY	X	NAVY	X	AIR	X	FBI		AEC				
(Note: Washington distribution indicated by "X"; Field distribution by "#".)														

INFORMATION REPORT INFORMATION REPORT

Attachment .1

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Words and Reality

In the newspaper Za vozvrascheniye na Rodinu [For return to the Motherland] and in other publications and radio broadcasts of the "Committee for Return to the Motherland" as well as in the entire Soviet press an intensive agitation campaign is being waged for the purpose of persuading former USSR citizens, now emigres, servicemen who had been captured by the Germans, those taken away by the Germans from the one-time occupied areas, and other individuals to leave the western countries and to return to the Soviet Union. In this campaign the Soviet press and radio are attempting "to explain" that no punitive measures were being, or would be, taken against these persons nor would there be any discrimination whatsoever and that they would become "full-fledged citizens of the USSR." Concurrently with this the press and radio cite numerous "examples" and "facts" of the allegedly wonderful life of those who have returned to the homeland, and all kinds of appeals and letters to former Soviet citizens living in the West. In short, the propaganda for repatriation to the USSR has been pitched on a grand scale.

There is very little truth, however, in this whole campaign, and it would be fitting to relate what the real situation is and what awaits the bulk of the ex-Soviet citizens if they were to return to the USSR.

In this article we intend to dwell basically upon the fate of former servicemen, particularly upon those who came home immediately after being released from the camps and after the war in general. Among them we include, needless to say, those repatriated from western countries."

"The Fatherland will understand and forgive each of its children!", states the newspaper Za vozvrascheniye na Rodinu, appealing to the former Soviet citizens. Alas, this basic slogan of the above-named newspaper is very, very far from the desired truth. Those who had been

-1-

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

## FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

prisoners were not understood and not forgiven in the USSR; what's more, they will never be forgiven. Here are a few examples which we have taken from actual life from one oblast of the Soviet Union alone:

...After graduating from "rabfak" [workers' high school], T. A. entered an institute, but in two years the war broke out and he was called to the front, where he was given command of an infantry section. Because of personal bravery he was promoted a short time later to platoon leader and despite the fact that he had not attended a military school, he was commissioned a junior lieutenant. In less than a year he was wounded three times and was awarded the Red Star twice and the Red Banner.. Then T. A. found himself surrounded and he was eventually captured. It is our understanding that T. A. at that time, had been a member of the Communist Party.

As a prisoner T. A. suffered incalculable hardships. When the Germans began to form antisoviet military units, T. A. was involuntarily drawn into one of them and even became commander of 100-150 men. Being at heart opposed to the Germans and having previously meditated upon his future, T. A. decided to desert to the partisans, a step in which he succeeded, taking with him a large group of former war-prisoners. T. A. commanded his own detachment and fought against the Germans in Czechoslovakia. After the liberation of Czechoslovakia the Communist government of that country awarded T. A. the Order of Freedom in recognition of his military services in the cause of the liberation of Czechoslovakia. Up to the end of the war T. A. remained in the Soviet Army, displaying courage and bravery in battles.

Discharged from the army, T. A. returned to his native village hoping to rest and then to resume his war-interrupted studies at the institute. However, neither his military services in the initial period of the war nor the Czech decoration nor the courage which he had displayed at the end of

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

the war saved T. A. from a brutal punishment: T. A. was arrested and, accused of "treason to the fatherland", sentenced to 10 years imprisonment, which were increased to 25 years. From 1945 to 1955, inclusively, T. A. was in a concentration camp in Kazakhstan and labored in a coal pit. As a result of the 1955 amnesty T. A. left the concentration camp but remained in Karagandinskaya Oblast to live in order, as he wrote to his brother "not to feel the scorn against me in the village where I was born". Anyway, the part of his father's house which belonged to T. A. had been confiscated by the authorities at the time of his arrest and he no longer had a place of his own. "I am now a so-called human being," wrote T. A. to his brother, "and it makes no difference to me now where I live. I will never go back to the village, because I will be regarded there as a person of the lowest grade. I would very much, however, have liked to see the graves of Father and Mother...."

Former mathematics teacher D. B. was also accused of "treason to the fatherland" and in 1947 was sentenced to 25 years, although he had been captured when unconscious after being wounded and had not been a member of any antisoviet unit. Of D. B.'s younger brothers, two fell in battle against the Germans and a third was slightly wounded and returned home with four national decorations. When D. B. was arrested, his mother, grief-laden over the irrevocable loss of two sons, became seriously ill and, in a state of paralysis, died. D. B., himself, returned from prison at the end of 1955, already gray at 40. The rayon and oblast public education sections, to whom he applied for a teacher's appointment, turned him down under various pretenses. D. B. does not ever expect to obtain work in his field, for, in his opinion, even if there were a vacant post, it would not be he who would be appointed but a man "with an unblemished record."

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

- 3 -

- 3 -

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

K. D., another former war-prisoner and an ex-captain, who, after escaping from a German camp and participating in numerous battles, was awarded three orders and three medals, returned to his native village in 1945. While in the army he had joined the CPSU. At first he was not molested and was even elected secretary of the kolkhoz party organization. He was considered an honorable man and he served well. Soon, however, his "sin" - the fact that he had been a prisoner - was remembered. Considering himself a full-fledged Soviet citizen and Communist, K. D. at one of the meetings of the rayon party aktiv permitted himself to speak out critically against one of the rayon workers. The latter in the presence of everyone called K. D. "a traitor to the fatherland," meaning his period in captivity. A short time later K. D. was relieved of the office of party organization secretary and still later was expelled from the party. It is possible that he, like the other former war prisoners, would have been thrown into prison if he had not soon gone off his mind as he did. Today K. D. drags out a miserable existence.

P. R., before the war a talented journalist who worked in the editorial office of an oblast newspaper, works at the present time (1955) as a warehouse worker. The newspaper will not take him on, because he had been a prisoner. P. R. is very fond of his profession and sometimes writes articles, but they are not published.

...Before the war M. G. was considered one of the best teachers of Marxism-Leninism. In addition to teaching in an institute and heading the chair of Marxism-Leninism, M. G. wrote long articles on theory in the press. M. G. was, as they say, a 100 percent Communist and remained so even after his capture. In the German camps M. G. engaged in Communist propaganda and effected the escape of many of his compatriots. M. G. did not belong to any anti-Soviet units. Returning to his oblast after the war, M. G.,

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

despite his "patriotism," was convicted and not released until 1955. He is not given a job. The former head of an academic chair is obliged to perform various field labors in a kolkhoz. Burdened by his adversities, M. G. is morally sinking, drinks, and sometimes goes to a neighboring city and picks up cigarette butts on the street....

The newspaper Za vyvrazhcheniye na Rodinu promises former Soviet citizens abroad full equal rights and all kinds of benefits, but is it really possible to believe such falsehood when even those who had the advantages, i. e. those whom we have discussed above, when even they are not recognized as genuine human beings and are surrounded by mistrust and contempt? The promise to give every returnee a job in his particular field is a lie. Even individuals who have nothing to do with functions of the so-called "ideological front" are not, for the most part, used in their special fields and are assigned to the most arduous tasks. An ex-serviceman, Soviet Army lieutenant V. K., who is a graduate locomotive technician and dreams of working in a weaving factory, is a menial laborer in a slaughterhouse. The notorious "black stain" - prisoner - does not permit former teacher L. A. to advance further than railroad car inspector. Construction engineer F. T. works as a grain-cutter and doctor Kh. U., as a shepherd in a kolkhoz....

From the morale point of view the situation of any repatriate returning to the USSR would be even worse than that of the above-mentioned persons, upon whom the title of second- and third-class human beings has been confirmed. Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that in the USSR there is not a single ex-war-prisoner - absolutely not one - whose daily living, work, and actions are not under the constant and relentless surveillance of the overt and covert members of the system of the State Security Committee. It is unnecessary to point out that in the viewpoint of the Communist Party and its investigative organs any person who has spent a few years or a few days

-5-

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

abroad is a potential foe of the cause of Communism and no devotion to it on your part will succeed in causing your period of time abroad to be forgotten. Even after the amnesty decrees questions concerning one's experiences in captivity, under this occupation, outside the borders of the USSR, etc., were not removed from personnel information forms and questionnaires which every job-seeker is required to fill out. If an ex-war prisoner and a man with a "clean" record fail, for some reason or other, to fulfill the factory's production quota, the shop foreman or some one else will say or think, in regard to the former, that it was clear why he had not fulfilled the quota - ~~he~~, after all, is one of those "traitors".... Nothing will be said about the second man who failed to fulfill the quota, but in regard to the first, notations will appear from that day forth in the notebooks of the shop foreman, the plant director and the KGB secret agents....

G. Z., who at one time went to the West to earn a living and remained there, returned to the USSR with his family after the war. He had never been an enemy of the USSR, was not interested in politics, and had simply decided to live in his native land. He was made many promises but not one of the promises was kept. When he was in the west G. Z. was an ordinary worker and lived, as he now admits, in easy circumstances. Upon its arrival in a Soviet port the four-member family of G. Z. - he, his wife, and two children - had with it four separate mattresses and as many blankets, a large quantity of sheets, tablecloths, curtains, a few suits for each member, and a large quantity of other clothing and footwear, beautiful china and cutlery - in general, a good deal of every kind of personal property, down to children's briefcases and ash-trays. However, after its arrival in the USSR the G. Z. family began to sell its belongings in order to have money to obtain food. By the end of the past few years G. B. no

-6-

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

longer had anything "foreign" left and he could not, and cannot, buy any new things - he works as a driver and earns 300 rubles a month, which is not enough for bread, vegetables, or potatoes, let alone other articles. The entire family lives in one single state-owned room, for which it pays as high as 25 rubles a month. The family has become impoverished and coarse; everyone is sick - one from tuberculosis, another from nervous disorder. G. Z. curses the day that he decided to go to the USSR but it is too late now.... We note further that every step and every word of members of the G. Z. family becomes known to the KGB, which keeps them constantly under its scrutiny lest they say something good about life abroad and exert a "bad" influence upon others.

Such cases are legion.

It is quite obvious that there is no such thing as the "full rights," "equal rights," and other benefits promised to former war prisoners by the newspaper Za vospriashcheniya na Rodinu. Those who have long been working at home without let-up in order to "expiate their guilt to the nation," are kept on the lowest rungs of social life by the party and government, who do not trust them and will not trust them. Despite this, the newspaper Za vospriashcheniya na Rodinu attempts to prove the opposite. In regard to the matter of "trust", I should like to cite the following additional facts:

A. K., the best surgeon in the oblast, returned home from captivity and began to seek a post in the oblast center where he had lived and worked before the war, but he was refused a position in all of the clinics and hospitals of the city. The reason was the same: A. K. had served as a doctor in a prisoner-of-war camp, i. e., he "collaborated with the Germans," although many prisoners of war know A. K. as their savior. A. K. was forced to leave the city and to settle down in one of the rayon centers. Here, in a hospital he soon demonstrated his proficiency and outstanding talent, and became the most popular man in the rayon, beloved by the population.

-7-

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

He performed all operations with unusual success no matter how complicated they were. A. K. worked almost around the clock, for he did not refuse operations even to those who lived in other rayons.

The head of the rayon health department, party member T. Kh., a surgeon by profession and a relatively recent graduate of the medical institute, was very unhappy over the fact that the popularity of A. K. was increasing with every passing day and that literally not a single patient wanted to lie on T. Kh.'s operating table. Some patients became relieved simply by the promise that A. K. would perform the operation. The irritated T. Kh., well-known for his extraordinary mediocrity, used to anaesthetise the patient and operate on him, but unsuccessfully: all operations performed by party-member surgeon T. Kh. in 1954-55 ended with fatal results. A dunce, egotist, and squabbler, he continuously villified the honorable surgeon A. K., called him "an accomplice of the Germans," "a traitor," etc., fabricated a case for accusing A. K. of an economic "crime", and forced him - a totally innocent man - to be brought to trial. In the end this intriguer T. Kh., through the oblast health department, managed to have former war prisoner A. K., the best surgeon in the oblast, dismissed from his post as chief surgeon of the rayon hospital.

We observe that the harassment of A. K. continues to the present day and that he was dismissed after the publication in the press of the 17 September 1955 Ukase of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet USSR entitled "Amnesty of Soviet citizens who collaborated with the occupational authorities in World War II, 1941-1945."

Then there is the case of poet T. T. - a genuine lyricist, who too had been a prisoner and who chose literary activity after the war. He is the only poet in the oblast in whose verses you will not find the name of Stalin mentioned and who for that reason, out of several collections

- 8 -

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

prepared for the press, was able to publish only one. Only a short time ago, thanks to the downgrading of Stalin and the "thaw" which developed in literature, T. T. published another collection of lyrical poems, this time in Moscow. Perhaps no one there knew of T. T.'s term of service as a German prisoner. In his native oblast, however, the branch of the Union of Soviet Writers crossed T. T.'s name off the list of candidates to the All-Union Conference of Young Authors, held in 1955. Prior to the consideration and confirmation of the list of candidates the leader of the local branch of the USW placed a question-mark after the name of poet T. T. and wrote "Was a prisoner." Going to the conference in Moscow instead of T. T. was T. Ts., whose poems no one reads.

That is your "full rights," "equal rights," and "liberal amnesty"!

All the above accounts are unverified facts, but facts are facts. Against them all the most skilful agitation and propaganda of the newspaper Za yezashcheniya na Rodinu is powerless.

- 9 -

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Note: The article "Soviet Contrasts" is written as a reply to a number of stories in the newspaper Za vosvrashcheniya na Rodinu, which dealt in one way or another with Ordshonikidse and Osetiya (see No. 8, August 1955 - photograph of Osetian woman V. Kh. Sekinayeva of Alagir, with text; in the same issue, the letter of Osetian ex-war-prisoners S. S. Dzodzikov of Ordshonikidse and M. B. Daugkoyev of Alagir; No 9, August 1955 - photograph of P. A. Khurumov of Kost-Khelagurovo and his letter; No 11, September 1955 - photo and text of Osetian woman F. Gikayeva (her address is not indicated, but she is from Beslan; No. 13, October 1955 - article "Intelligentsia of the Osetian Village"; No 13, October 1955 - in the "Searches" section, a message to Osetian K. S. Chercev of the village of Terau).

#### Soviet Contrasts

(In one oblast center)

In reading the newspaper Za vosvrashcheniya na Rodinu, one would have to believe that outside of the Soviet Union, especially in the Western countries, there is no good, no happiness, and no light in the life of the peoples. The hunger and poverty of the population, lack of rights, and the most dismal future of the workers - that is the theme of numerous stories of the above-mentioned newspaper and the radio of the "Return to the Motherland" committee.

It is not difficult to refute all of these fabrications; furthermore, hardly anyone in the West believes them - after all, the people here have not yet lost their reason and cannot call white, black, and black, white, no matter how hard the Soviet press may try to prove the unprovable.

- 1 -

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Somewhat different, is the case of the West's knowledge of the true situation in the Soviet Union, however, where, according to reports in the Soviet press, there is nothing bad, nothing sad, and nothing dismal in the life of the people. The Soviet press maintains a policy different from the Western press, which does not keep silent about anything unfavorable encountered in the political, social, and even private lives of individuals. For example, the newspapers of the capitalist countries write not only about the high standard of living of the workers but also about unemployment where it appears, citing facts and figures; not only about scientific, technical, and artistic achievements but also about the slowness of them in some particular field or area; not only about the fun-loving public, recreation, and the growing wealth of the citizens but also about the cases of financial bankruptcy, the inadequacy of particular laws, selfishness, governmental shortcomings, family scandals in high society, and many other things. In the West no secret is made of the facts, a respect in which the Soviet press is the direct opposite of the press of the capitalist countries: the newspapers and radio of the USSR picture life only in a rosy light and say not a word about its defects.

That is why it is especially important to expose the Soviet propaganda and, insofar as possible, to supply the western world, including the former Soviet citizens, with concrete and truthful information about the other side of the Soviet coin.

...Take, for instance, a certain oblast center, a medium-sized city with a population of 250,000, with enterprises, institutions, and various party, Soviet, and trade union organizations. Let the reader not get the idea that we have selected some particular city "unsuccessful" to the CPSU - no, it is one of the best cities; it is richer, more beautiful, and more efficiently organized than, let us say, Tambov, Penza, Petrosavodsk, Vologda, Zhitomir, Poltava, Barnaul, or Stavropol'....

- 2 -

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

We have selected this city because it and the oblast of which it is the center [capital] has been mentioned repeatedly in Za vosvrashcheniye na Rodinu, which depicts it and the oblast as paradise achieved for the workers and the former Soviet citizens - D. P.'s and refugees - invited there.

In this city and oblast (it is a small one) live approximately 350,000-360,000 people. This is approximately equivalent to Sheffield, England, Lyons, France, Braunschweig, Germany, or Krakow, Poland.... Now, for the 350,000-360,000 population we have in the "paradise" city an oblast committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with an apparatus of about 200 persons (oblast party committee secretaries and their deputies, technical and service personnel of the oblast committee secretaries and their deputies, technical and service personnel of the oblast committee secretaries and their bodyguards, heads of industrial and transportation, agricultural, propaganda and agitation, trade, finance, and banking, schools and science, administrative, and other, sections, heads of party cadres, press, lecture group, and other sectors, belonging to the sections or not); the oblast "Soviet of Workers' Deputies" and its executive Committee with sections, administrations, and sectors, with an apparatus totaling 1000 or more; the oblast committee of the All-Union Leninist Communist Union of Youth [Komsomol] with an apparatus of 30 or 40; the oblast trade union committee with an apparatus totaling more than 100; the civil and military prosecutor's office and the MVD military tribunal totaling about 100; the city party Committee - about 100 persons; the city Soviet and its executive committee with sections, administrations, sectors - more than 300 persons; the city rayon party committees, rayon soviets and their executive committees - 200 persons; rayon and city Komsomol committees - 80-100 persons; the militia department comprising 100-130 officers and men; oblast, city, and rayon soviets committees, sections, and administrations of various "voluntary" societies

- 3 -

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

(of assistance to the army, air force, and navy [DOSAAF], the Red Cross, for the dissemination of political and scientific knowledge, athletic societies, etc.) - about 100 persons; staffs of the local anti-aircraft defense - as many as 50 persons; oblast consumers' cooperative board - 70-80 persons; rayon courts, prosecutor's offices, and defense lawyers collegia - as many as 50 persons; railroad administration - about 100 persons; section of the State Security Committee on the railroad and railroad militia administration - over 100 persons; permanent representatives of Central and federal departments and establishments for servicing of the cities and oblasts (trade inspectors, controllers of the Ministry of State Control USSR, trade agents, controllers for determining productivity, health workers, etc.) - at least 100 persons; oblast section of the Main Administration for the Protection of State and Military Secrets in Literature (censorship) - 10 persons; editorial offices of five newspapers and two magazines - over 100 persons; oblast and city offices of the State Bank USSR - about 1000 persons; oblast offices of industrial, agricultural, and communal banks - 300 persons; branches of the All-Union Theatrical Society, "Vsekokhudozhnik" [All-Union Fine Arts Workers' Coop], and the Art Fund USSR, Union of Soviet Writers and Correspondents of the Central Newspapers, All-Union Radio, and Telegraphic Agency of the Soviet Union - about 100 persons; oblast, city, and rayon military commissariats - 90-100 persons; etc., etc. We have listed a total of six and a half thousand "apparatchiki" [members of the apparatus]. "Leading", "ideological," and other workers in plants, factories, establishments, and departments, who have nothing to do with the production of material goods, also constitute a vast contingent. In short, the "paradise" city contains at least 10,000 above parasites.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Adding members of the families of all the parasites, we have over 50,000 persons, i.e., one fifth of the city lives at the expense of the workers. Can it also be true that a fifth of the population lives off the rest in the mining city of Sheffield or the textile city of Lyons?

Now we shall reproduce some pictures "from nature".

...A "ZIM" drove up to the private residence, in front of which an armed sentry is stationed. A young man in civilian clothes jumps out. His coat bulges out at the thigh - he carries a revolver. The driver also jumps out. They obligingly open the door of the automobile, and finally the passenger himself, a man of 45, of medium height, with an anxious face, gets out. He is the secretary of the oblast party committee and has come home for dinner. The driver and the secretary's bodyguard wait for him for an hour or an hour and a half. After dinner the "oblast boss," as the first secretary of the oblast party committee is called in the city, takes a ride out to the country to see how the harvesting campaign is coming along. He does not go right up to the combines - it is too dusty around them. The starved or semi-starved combine and tractor operators, kolkhos chairmen, MTS directors, and local party leaders answer the oblast party committee secretary's questions, give explanations, and assure him that they are trying to harvest the grain as quickly as possible. The "boss" expresses his dissatisfaction with the tempo of the harvest, makes threats over the delay, fixes the harvest time-limits, and, without saying goodbye, departs. While the combine and tractor operators and the kolkhos members are sweating profusely from their exhausting toil, the driver switches on the radio for the first secretary and he listens to Moscow. On the road the car stops from time to time and toadies offer "the boss" cold beer or champagne - according to his preference. He munches on "Cho-Cho-san" candy or "Molechnyy" chocolate. In the rayon centers the

- 2 -

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

## FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

first secretary suggests to the local "bosses" that they organize a 24-hour harvest of the grain after installing electric lights on the combines and throwing "all living forces" into the harvesting. After arriving in the city, the oblast Khrushchev [sic] rests in a countryside cottage and in the evening goes with his wife to the theater, where, sitting in a private box, he watches "Kremlev'skiye Kuranty" [The Kremlin's rhymes] or something of the sort. At this time many of the kolkhoz members whom he had exhorted to "work faster" [at home] are threshing ears of wheat stolen from the field in order to prepare supper and the workers of the plant which the oblast committee secretary had visited during the first half of the day are standing in line for "khamse" [a small fish].

...Disabled veterans of "The Great Patriotic War" [World War II] and beggars are not admitted to restaurants, and therefore they collect handouts in the "ordinary" dining-rooms and lunchrooms. There we see one of the largest dining-rooms on the main street. Congregated here are several beggars: a little boy of about 10 to 12 leading a blind old man by the hand and begging for "a small copeck" for both of them; two fellows in rags and emaciated, picking up leftovers and sticking them in a canvas bag; some half-wit beggar-woman offering the diners picture-postcards - stills from the motion pictures "Brodyaga" [The Tramp] and "Baydshu Bayra", asking one ruble a piece; there goes a legless war veteran on rollers, wearing the "Glory" and "Red Star" ribbons and the "Capture of Berlin" and "Victory over Germany" medals, singing the song "Shel brodyaga s Sakhalina" [The Tramp went from Sakhalin], and holding in his left hand a torn cap to hold the handouts. "Long live the infantry," another disabled veteran, without arms, shouts to him when they meet. The latter had "grabbed" some vodka in two or three places and was feeling happy. "Hurrah for the heroes of Sandomir!", continues the disabled veteran. "Long live the infantry!"....

- 6 -

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

And in the best restaurant of the city at this time a jazz band is playing the duke's aria from "Rigoletto" followed by the waltz "The Danube Waves." Sitting at the tables are a large number of party workers and KGB and MVD officers with major's and colonel's shoulderboards, teachers of Marxian-Leninism, writers, candidates of philosophical and other sciences, officers and generals of the military garrison, prostitutes with party membership cards in their hand-bags.... The tables are crammed with dishes with foreign names, caviar, Israeli oranges, champagne and "malaga", "sherry", "Cabotian" and other wines. As we mentioned earlier, no beggars are allowed in here and nothing disturbs the peace of the diners; no one begs anything from them. Lively conversation is heard, laughter resounds, champagne corks pop, and crystal tinkles; the wife of a professor waltzes with an air force colonel, and an oblast party committee instructor, who has become a little too tipsy, raises a toast "To our Party!"....

What do these people have in common with those who gather grain at night, who drip sweat in the sweltering workshops, who lose their health in the coal mines, and who graze the kolkhoz cattle? Why is it that at the moment that the overhappy oblast party committee instructor is drinking toasts to the party, a disabled war veteran who marched from the Volga to the Elbe and saved the country from destruction lies down to sleep under the open sky, on the street? Why does the veteran of the Sandmir breakthrough have to beg for alms? Why doesn't the newspaper Za vosvrashcheniye na Rodinu, print two photographs side by side - the private residence of the oblast party committee secretary which was built by the hands of the workers, and the grimy room in the plant public living quarters, where the family of a production worker who provides the country with pig iron lives? Show pictures of our city marketplace, of beggars standing in line with outstretched hands, the homeless waifs making the rounds of the market stands,

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

## FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

the homeless old man who has dropped from exhaustion, ragged pilferers, escapees from the reform school, 15-year-old prostitutes, organ-grinders, lunatics.... Show our so-called second-hand goods market, where a woman factory worker, off from her shift, is trying to sell her last sheet in order to have money for bread until pay-day; where an old man, who displeased the regime and served a term in prison, once a great artist, is trading his pictures; where - near the gates, inasmuch as he does not have the three rubles to buy an admission ticket - an ex-colonel is offering people some kind of powder to remove stains from clothing; where a drunken hooligan kills his prostitute with a "fink" [stiletto]....

In olden, tsarist, times military men and officials walked along one side of the main street, while common folk walked along the other. Today no such distinction in walking exists, but the contrast remains, nevertheless: the difference in clothing is self-evident. Those who sit in the expensive restaurant in no way resemble the citizens from the factories. The former are wearing "boston" [type of fabric], Czech gabardine, "mêtro"; and the latter, the product of the Orakhovo-Zuyevo Cotton Mill and suits of mass-production sewing artels. Factory workers do not come into a workshop with foreign fashion magazines, for they are not in a position to pay 1500-1800 rubles for one suit. They do not buy footwear from the factory which once belonged to the Czech Batya, because a pair of shoes costs 400-450 rubles and a working-class family receives only 800 rubles a month. A workingman cannot obtain an accommodation at a Crimean or Caucasian seashore resort, for it costs 1300-1600 rubles. The ordinary citizen cannot go with his wife to the theater, for they would spend 50-60 rubles for one evening alone.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Soviet contrasts.... There are too many of them to relate even a millionth part.

The newspaper Za vorovashcheniya na Rodinu has written two or three times about how young men and women go jejeously to factory and trade schools which train production workers. Why, this is nothing but sheer poppycock; why, no one goes there voluntarily, and those few who do, have simply chosen between abject poverty and the relatively endurable poverty in the schools and training institutions. There are several such "educational" institutions in the city, but among the hundreds of trainees in them, you will not find a single juvenile son of a party or soviet worker, teacher, or engineer. All the trainees of the factory and trade schools are the children of workers, minor employes, invalids, pensioners, etc.; among these trainees are many full- and semi-orphans, homeless waifs, and children from reform schools. The party and Soviet bureaucracy of the city, just as of the entire country in general, prefers that the material benefits, the "base for the transition to communism," should be created by everyone except their own children.

...At a certain banquet a foreign journalist remarked to Khrushchev that he did not believe in the triumph of communism. To this Khrushchev replied that his (the journalist's) children and grandchildren, however, would be Communists. Khrushchev, however, needlessly advances the date of the coming of communism, during which, according to his basic principle, everything, down to pigeon's milk, will be distributed according to need; for N. S. Khrushchev and the local Khrushchevs, communism already exists, if we discount one small detail - the absence of pigeon's milk. Why should not the newspaper Za vorovashcheniya na Rodinu, when it propagandises the Soviet "paradise", begin by declaring - by way of information, so to speak - that not only socialism but, to a partial degree, communism as well, has already been achieved?

- 9 -

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Magnificence and wretchedness is a pair of words which adequately describe and summarize the Soviet contrasts: the magnificence of the party caste and the wretchedness of the millions....

- 10 -

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

The Constitution and Reality

On the pages of Za vozvrashcheniye na Rodinu there frequently appear articles, commentaries, and letters devoted to the USSR Constitution and to the rights granted to the citizens "of the first socialist government in the world."

It should be remarked that the Constitution itself is not a bad document, even a remarkable one, taking into consideration the fact that colorfully set forth in it are those rights which most stir the public - the rights to work, leisure, education, and material support in old age.

Unfortunately, for the vast mass of the USSR's citizens the realization of all of these rights has so far remained an empty dream. Soviet reality unmercifully refutes the propaganda hullabaloo of the press and radio about the broad guarantees allegedly enjoyed by the workers and assured to them by the USSR Constitution (the Basic Law).

Although there is almost no unemployment in the USSR, many millions of Soviet citizens work under compulsion more than of their free will or where they would prefer to work. All kinds of labor drafts and mobilizations in the enterprises and construction projects completely ignore the capabilities and desires of the workers. In pursuit of needed manpower the authorities force the masses to leave their native localities, and change professions, and completely disregard the personal feelings and plans of individuals. A new construction project is started and thousands of workers are needed. Where can they be obtained? The government settles the problem very simply: it, for example, arbitrarily reduces admittance to technical schools and higher educational institutions, and many thousands of young people, deprived of their prospects for a further education, find themselves, willingly or forcibly, in the new construction project.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Yesterday's students who aspired to become engineers, technicians, artists, actors, architects, etc., become bricklayers, plasterers, painters, and other workingmen. The "right to work" in this instance turns into a special form of Criminal Code article for the youth. Can labor which is not free, not chosen by the worker, and in which he finds absolutely no spiritual satisfaction be considered a conferred right? In this case it is no sin to conclude that even many centuries before the Communists, the slaveowners of Rome, to be specific, fully provided their people with the right to work, without writing it down, to make it simpler for themselves, in a constitution.

Let us take another example. In connection with the introduction of new machines in an enterprise a severe curtailment in personnel was put into effect - 10 or 100 men, let us say, were dismissed. They have the right to work and, furthermore, according to the basic principle of socialism - from each according to his abilities and to each according to his labor - they are supposed to find a job in their own line of work. However, a sixth or seventh-grade lathe operator goes to another enterprise and is told that they don't need lathe operators but riggers and loaders. How is he to live when all his life he has worked as a lathe operator and is incapable of working as a rigger or loader and when, furthermore, he does not wish to change his vocation? Where is the law here? the law, that is - not a condition laid down by the government?

In speaking of the rights of the people, including the right to work, we must not divorce it from the concept of freedom, for, when the latter is absent, this right is transformed into a farce and a fraud.

- 2 -

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

False are the assertions of Za vosvrashcheniye na Rodinu regarding the alleged absence of unemployment in the USSR. In any Soviet city and town you will see a more or less considerable group of genuine unemployed. The only difference between them and those out of work in the West is the fact that here [i.e., in the West] they are given unemployment benefits, whereas the former, that is, the Soviet unemployed workers, receive absolutely no benefits and, in Soviet terminology, must "put their teeth on the shelf" [i.e., go without eating]. In addition to everything, the people who are out of work for one reason or another are called "parasites", although they are not parasites but temporarily ill or citizens who cannot find a job in their line of work. Eloquent testimony of the rather large number of unemployed workers is found in scores and hundreds of reports published in rayon, city, oblast, kray, republic, and central newspapers under headings which insult human dignity.

The articles describing the constitutionally-conferred right to old-age security are full of falsehood. Far from all the old people receive pensions and those who do live half-starved, because it is impossible to live on 150-200-300 rubles a month. Not only pension recipients but scores and hundreds of thousands of workers, as well, lead a semi-starved existence. Let Za vosvrashcheniye na Rodinu dare to mention the number of claims filed with local trade union committees and the management of Soviet enterprises, in which the workers apply for financial aid! In every enterprise there are whole stacks of these claims. When telling about pensions and other benefits, let Za vosvrashcheniye na Rodinu write also about the conditions under which the pension recipients in the outskirts of the Donbass cities, in the wooden-hut settlements of the Komi ASSR, and in the makeshift shacks of the Siberian taiga live, without claiming as ordinary pensioners the "distinguished" workers of the revolution, former city and oblast party committee secretaries, retired generals, and others who each receive

- 3 -

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

pensions of thousands of rubles per month and live in private villas in Sochi, Kislovodsk, on the Riga seashore, in Tskhaltubo, the former tsarist health resorts of the Crimea, and in health resorts of the Caucasian seashore.

Hundreds of thousands of pension recipients are invalids and old people; tens of thousands grown decrepit in the enterprises but who receive nothing, a whole army of cripples - the victims of the last war, thousands and thousands of sick, who for that reason were not covered by the pension regulations, orphans, widows of millions of fallen servicemen, a mass of persons crushed by fate, those who have been in mental homes, and many, many other Soviet citizens in desperate circumstances, but the newspaper Za vorovashcheniya na Rodinu writes that "the Soviet citizen has it good".

Or take freedom of speech and the press; this freedom is not even under consideration. No ordinary citizen of the USSR has ever said or written exactly what he thinks, wants, or doesn't like. At what session of any local or Supreme Soviet, at what conference, at what discussion or anywhere whatsoever have the speakers not been selected and prepared in advance by the party or trade union organizations? Can I. Muratov, the editor of Za vorovashcheniya na Rodinu, name even one, appreciably serious critical article in the Soviet press which has not been written by the editors themselves and [then] submitted to the "author" for his signature?

Let us repeat: there is no freedom of speech and press, just as there is no freedom in general, in the USSR.

Like the basic law - the Constitution of the USSR - so, too, are the other laws of the nation totally unpopular among the people. Not in the United States, Britain, Canada, or France, but in the Soviet Union have the people invented a proverb that is full of disparagement as well as devastating sarcasm: "The law is like a steering wheel - whichever way it is turned, that's the way it goes."

That is your popular estimation of the much-vaunted USSR Constitution.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Attachment 2

It is often possible to distinguish the particular people or tribe to which a Caucasian belongs without special difficulty. Take the surname, for example: for a Georgian it will end only in "shvili" (Guramishvili), "dze" (Chavchavadze), "ni" (Gharabagiani), "li" (Kiaschali), or "i" (Bakureli). As for a Mingrelian, his surname will not likely end in "iya" (Bakuriziya) or "ova" (Mikotadze) and sometimes at the end of a surname of Georgia "proper" -- Kakhetiya, Imeretiya, Kartliya, etc.

It is difficult, however, to determine for certain the particular people or tribe to which a North Caucasian belongs; in the majority of cases it is even impossible, because all surnames in the North Caucasus end in "ov" or "ev", that is, in the Russian pronunciation and spelling. I mention this because the peoples of the North Caucasus do not pronounce and write their surnames "in Russian", that is, not with the "ov" or "ev" ending, but "in their own way." For example, Ossetian surnames end only in "y" among Ossetians "proper" and in "ti" among the inhabitants of Digora. Among the Iranian Ossetians only three surnames have irregular endings: "dady" (Dadov), "kady" (Khadov), and "dygury" (Dygurov). I do not know why among the Ossetians it is the custom to write the surname in the Russian way rather than in the way <sup>that</sup> they are pronounced in their own language.

In addition, each of the peoples of the North Caucasus has its own customs, in which, for some countries than dress, roots upon the man -- the head of the family, in contrast, for example, to the Ingushes, among whom it is the woman who does the bulk of the work: an ordinary Ossetian woman nowadays dresses very simply -- a

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

dress with no ornaments and "chuvyaki" [soft, heelless slippers]; a coat for an Ossetian woman is unknown and in winter a warm shawl takes its place. You will not see an Ossetian woman, young or old, at any time of the year without stockings; to go without them is considered a sin. A woman in Ossetia enjoys unusual respect; in her presence all quarreling or brawling must cease. At the same time, however, an Ossetian woman cannot sit down at the same table with her husband; she must not utter the name of her husband or take part in the conversation of men, etc. There are many customs in Ossetia and some of them are encountered in other regions. For example, the hospitality of the Ossetians is universally known. Blood feuding used to be strong among us. There are quite a number of families in Ossetia which are still hostile because of blood feuds. In contrast to other peoples, the Orthodox Ossetians observe both Orthodox and certain Moslem religious holidays; the principal holiday is St. George the Victorious Day. Only the Ossetians, I think, observe "The Day of the Goblin" (Bander) very widely. Their principal holiday is St. Il'ya's Day. One other feature distinguishes the Ossetians from the other peoples -- the still-existent practice of kidnapping girls. In 1955 three girl kidnapping cases were tried: here (village of Ol'ginskoye, Kartatinskoye Canyon, and Darg-Kokhakiy Rayon).

#### Supplement

Some unique customs of the Ossetians:

- 1) A father, young or old, must not take his own child in his arms.
- 2) Husband and wife may not appear on the street together.
- 3) If on the "nikhas" (a place on the street, where men gather and chat) my father or elder brother or an old man of my family are present, I must leave.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

- 4) A young person cannot invite a girl related to him to a dance.
- 5) The men go to accompany a deceased person to the cemetery;  
the women go along too -- at a certain distance from them -- but  
do not enter the cemetery itself.
- 6) Soup or borschok are never consumed at feasts or wakes.
- 7) Fowl and cattle are slaughtered with their heads first turned  
toward the East.
- 8) The head of a slaughtered cattle or fowl cannot be eaten by  
the women. The head goes to "the head of the family."
- 9) The favorite color is white: a white horse, a white ram, a white  
Circassian woman, etc.
- 10) A husband may not mourn, display his grief to people, or,  
worst of all, weep over the death of his wife.
- 11) When the bride is brought to the home of the fiancé, friends  
hide her from the husband (the first day), demanding a ransom for  
her -- money, candy, etc. In the village of Bigora one  
bride was hidden in the woods (this was in 1948) and held  
until far into the night. Lightly clad, the girl became ill,  
caught cold, and a few days later died.
- 12) The swallow is considered a sacred bird.
- 13) If any member of the family says in the evening or at night  
that he "saw something bright flying in the sky" then immediately  
three pies are made "in honor of the angel of the person who saw  
it."

Attachment B

The Condemnation of Beriya was explained in Ossetia according to the spirit of the official press reports: "Beriya was connected with foreign imperialists and had intended with their police to restore capitalism in the USSR. He planned to disband the kolkhozes. He sought to impose the MVD over the party and government," etc. From certain Communists I later heard that Beriya tried to execute a sort of "palace revolution", to arrest members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPSU, to declare them "enemies of the people," and to become head of the State. They added that Beriya was "morally degraded," his followers supplied him with beautiful women whose panties he kept "as a souvenir," and that in Moscow there was a great number of children of whom Beriya was the father, etc. A victim in Ossetia in connection with Beriya's condemnation was Kulov, an oblast party committee first secretary, who, it is said, was a favorite of Beriya. Kulov was arrested, also arrested was Maliyev, the Minister of Internal Affairs, who, it was said, was the originator of the Beriya gift story -- Beriya had given him a living mountain chamois-goat. It was mentioned that Beriya's deputy, Kobulev, an Ossetian, was shot with him. At the time that the report of the trial of Beriya and others appeared in the press I was in Stavropol'.

Once, when I was reading a newspaper pasted on a window, some Russian man who was standing next to me, remarked after he finished reading that "That Georgian scoundrel got what was coming to him." Among those in Ossetia who suffered in connection with ~~the~~ Beriya affair was Zodelava, the Republic Minister of Internal Affairs, who had perished during the war. After his death "Republic St." in Ordzhonikidze was renamed "Zodelava St.," but upon the conviction of Beriya it was designated "Ordzhonikidze St.," because, it was said, Zodelava had once been a friend of Beriya. Similarly, the redesignation of the city of

Demashikau once more as Ordzhonikidze was explained by the fact that the suggestion to change the name of the city from Ordzhonikidze had been Beriya's. "He was an enemy of Ordzhonikidze," went the saying in Ossetia.

If the three-day street demonstrations, which you mentioned, did take place in Tbilisi -- which I believe -- then I think that they were inspired not by any deep feelings or sympathies for Stalin but by enmity toward the present leaders. I am convinced that the Tbilisites, in organizing the demonstrations, were thinking least of all about the order of things under Stalin and after him, whether he had been good or bad, whether things had become better after his death or worse; they were guided by nationalist sentiments. Among the demonstrators was hardly a single Russian, and in Tbilisi there certainly live at least 200,000 Russians. A few discontent individuals could not have provoked the Georgians to demonstrate. It is indefensible to talk of the "irresponsibility" of Tbilisites; I submit that they are no less intelligent than Muscovites. On the contrary, the residents of the Georgian capital quite consciously demonstrated their animosity toward Khrushchev et al.

Then, too, the Tbilisi demonstrations were inspired to a certain degree by <sup>an</sup> esteem -- purely superficial, of course -- for Stalin, thanks to whom the Georgians had occupied a special position in the USSR, although no one would have dared mention this during the lifetime of Stalin. Neither did the Georgians themselves say that they owed this position to Stalin. However, the whole country knows that the standard of living in Georgia is relatively higher than in any other place. The average tea-producing kolhhoz member or wine-grower in Georgia lives several times better than a Banské miner or Ryazan' kolhhoz member.

• FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Tbilisites call their city "the second Paris," mindful of the exceptionally smartly-dressed people. I heard from friends who have visited Tbilisi that Tbilisites are dressed somewhat better than Muscovites. In Tbilisi there is a mass of private automobiles. Ordinary Georgians who visit Tbilisi openly squander money in restaurants; they drink wine, present common 100-rubles tips each; when rising from the table they leave the waitress money on the table "for a silk dress." All this I saw with my own eyes. With the death of Stalin and the new order of things the Georgians are losing a great deal and are being subjected to "normal" taxes. The Georgians are realizing this. Perhaps they have begun to hear the same remark that I heard: "Georgian second-rate"... Finally, the Caucasian and Georgian temperament emerged to some degree in the demonstrations. Knowing the Georgians, I can say that they hate Mikoyan, who spoke against Stalin, even worse than they do Khrushchev. Even before this the Georgians disliked the Armenians, and now, I believe, they consider the latter their enemies. Furthermore, political aspects, I repeat, do not play a role -- Georgians, less so than others, were or are "Soviet persons," i.e., true adherents of Stalin and communism. I remember a time [REDACTED] when the Georgians renounced Stalin, contending that he was not a Georgian but an Ossetian.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Attachment 4

Ossetia and, therefore, in other republics, as well, is low. In the republic newspaper printing house, which is considered the largest in the North Caucasus (except for the one in Grozny) there is only one rotary press, and consequently the printing of newspapers is attended by difficulties. Sotsialisticheskaya Osetiya and Rastdained are printed on it. There is no time left, however, for the youth newspaper, and it is printed on an ordinary flat press. In Ordzhonikidze almost all

- 6 -

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

the printing presses are old ones, of 1912, or earlier, manufacture. All are German-made and on each of them is a small copper plate bearing the inscription "Krause, Leipzig", plus the date (year) of manufacture. Printing, cutting, and other German-made machines dating back to the 1880s are encountered. In the republic newspaper and book printing houses both hand type-setting and linotyping are employed. In the book printing house the typesetting is done mainly by hand. The linotype machines are very "capricious" and the women are especially dissatisfied with them. In the evening hours, when the composing of the two above-mentioned newspapers is in full swing, curses against the machines are constantly heard in the linotyping shop. All the linotype machines in Ordzhonikidze were manufactured before the war in the Leningrad plant named Maks Gai'ts.

Outside of Ordzhonikidze 17 rayon and one city newspaper are published in Ossetia; they have their own printing houses. With the exception of those in Mozdok, Malgobek, and Beslan, these printing houses are in deplorable condition. There is not enough type, especially headline type. The printing presses are old and worn out. In most of the printing houses there are no cutting, pressing, or other machines nor sufficient straightedges, lead [blank filler], or even ink. In some printing houses not only the composing but also the printing is done by hand-- which is terribly laborious work -- on a so-called "Amerikanka" [literally, "American woman"; foot-press -- an extremely inconvenient machine.

Printing houses where newspapers are printed belong to the system of the Administration of the Polygraphic Industry of the republic Ministry of Culture. Printing houses are independent economic units and are not subordinate to editorial offices. Editorial offices are customers of the printing houses. The hiring and firing of printing house workers is performed by the enterprise director.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

## FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

In regard to editorial personnel, <sup>the</sup> hiring and firing is more complicated.

The table of organization of the editorial office of the newspaper Sotsialisticheskaya Oestya and, consequently of other republic and oblast newspapers is as follows: an editor, selected and confirmed by the bureau of the oblast party committee and, upon the latter's recommendation, by the party Central Committee; deputy editor (confirmed in the same manner); responsible secretary; heads of the following sections: propaganda and agitation, party life, industry and transportation, agriculture, culture, Soviet construction, information, and letters; literary secretary; and literary contributors of sections. Five special correspondents of the editorial office are in rural areas assigned to them. The section heads, responsible secretary, and special correspondents are confirmed by the bureau of the oblast party committee upon the recommendation of the editor, and dismissal is carried out under the same procedure. The remaining personnel -- the literary secretary and contributors of sections are hired and fired by the editor or the deputy editor.

In regard to political and ideological matters, editorial personnel are under the constant surveillance of the editor, deputy editor, and secretary of the primary party organization. The latter are concerned with the political self-education of the editorial personnel, their performance of official duties, and their conduct in public and private life. In party and Komsomol activities a certain supervision is also exercised by the rayon party and Komsomol committees on whose territory the editorial offices are located. No mean role in the checking and surveillance of journalists is played by the press sector of the oblast party committee. There are no rules or permanently fixed procedures for the checking and surveillance.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

way. The falsification that ex- Sotsialisticheskaya Osetiya inside the republic is a "terror" for party, Soviet, and economic organs, kolkhozes, institutions, etc. According to a secret rule, the following individuals alone are exempt from its criticism: oblast party committee secretaries and section heads, the entire bureau of the oblast party committee, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, and the chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. All other individuals may be subjected to criticism. The more critical articles in a Soviet newspaper, the higher its "steak" in the eyes of the party committee whose organ it constitutes. A newspaper editor who stands in well with oblast party committee secretaries and who receives guiding instructions from them is almost always posted on what the bureau of the oblast party committee intends to discuss within the

## FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

next few days. The editor gives orders in advance to the editorial staff to write articles on the subjects to be decided at the oblast party committee bureau session. Thus, any rayon or establishment whose work is brought up at the discussion usually assumes that this newspaper has caused the evil and from then on it fears the newspaper and its staff-members even more.

In the rayons there is nothing but animosity towards them; none of them are liked and they are called "the newspaper dogs." The role of a Soviet journalist is frankly a thankless one: if he does not criticize mercilessly or slander at the same time, then he will be accused of "shortsightedness," "political blindness," "inability to implement party directives for the development of criticism," etc. If, however, he does not exaggerate some particular insignificant economic achievement to fantastic proportions, he will be accused of "inability to convey progressive experience." Because of the large

of criticism is the attitude the authors of them are held

some way. The falsification that exists in Soviet newspapers is  
 impossible of description. Partaken with the journalists in the creation

in North Ossetia) would turn out a "leading worker", let us say, a tractor operator, in such a way that the latter would not recognize himself in the newspaper. He would have the tractor operator shave and dress as best as possible. If there were no decent clothes among the crowd with which to array the "leading worker," then Khar'hevich would take off his own coat and offer it to the tractor operator; all in all, after the "ministrations" of the photographer, he became transformed into an MTS director. Nevertheless, Buzukov, the responsible secretary, sometimes refused to accept the photographs: "Why isn't your milkmaid smiling?", "He listens to a political talk that way -- why are the people so inert?", "Couldn't you have dressed this mechanic in better

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

overall?", "This picture you can keep; if that's all the grain your leading worker obtained on his workday, then we don't need him," etc.

It should be noted here that provincial newspapers take words of the central press as their example.

It would be difficult to determine who stretches the truth or the more, they or the provincial.

I have in mind such central newspaper correspondents as Mikhail Yarovoy (Izvestiya's special correspondent in Poland), Anatoliy Konstantinov (Trud), Vavilov (Pravda), Arkadiy Vasil'yev (Kokhedi magazine), Anya Buhikayeva (Russky Kommunist, magazine of the CC Komsomol), Mnastyrzhaya (Russky Khayvestro), Grigoriy Gogoberidze (Sovetskaya Kul'tura), Nikolay Bushalev (Izvestiya), Mstislav (Ogonok magazine), Nikolay Belyaninik (Sovetskaya Zvezda correspondent), Leonenko (Pravda), Mikhail Osvoshko (Izvestiya), Yegorov (Litovskaya Gazeta), Elena Gorbunova (Sovetskaya Zvezda), Vladimir Yefimov (ZSSR); and Rylov (Izvestiya).

Also from Moscow -- do not do their lying in articles but in entire books; they are writers and literary critics. These are such dis-honors as the former director of the Institute of World Literature named Gorkiy, academician Ivan Kapitenovich Luppel, authoress Marietta Shaginova, Dr. of philosophical sciences Prof. Valeriy Yakovlevich Klyutin, writer Aleksandr Fedayev, and others.

Finally, falsification in the USSR is on a genuinely "all-Union" scale. Under these conditions the prestige of the journalist and writer certainly cannot be high in the eyes of the people. In speaking of newspapers, I have not dwelt upon the Osetian newspaper Enstainad and its staff-members. Although nothing in their

- 14 -

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

work methods distinguishes them from Russians, the falsification done by Ossetian journalists is somewhat less striking to the eye. There are no Russians on the editorial staff of Rostdzhin. Things always run quietly and smoothly here and the personnel rarely changes -- most of the workers have been here for 15-20 years each and are friends of one another. However, on Sotsialisticheskaya Osetiya, where Russians and Ossetians work together, there are constant fights.

Ternovoy, the head of the industry and transportation section, was trying to have Tsogayev removed (Tsogayev was the editor), and Tsogayev was driving out the Russians (he fired L. A. Ignatov, a section head). Section head B. G. Bragayev insisted upon the dismissal of F. P. Belousov, and L. I. Butenko constantly attacked Bragayev.

Another reason for the low prestige of newspapermen is the fact that almost all of them drink too much and create scandal. For example, Daugayev was fired for brawling; Fedor Elkhin, for drunkenness and an economic offense; Andrey Barnatsev, for moral turpitude; Armen Grigor'yev, Boris Shalepov (a friend of CC CPSU secretary Mikhail Suslov), and Georgiy Bochanov, for drunkenness; Mikhail Stupakov, for the same; and Georgiy Bagazov, for drunkenness and loss of party membership card. The latter, furthermore, cursed Lev Greber in front of everyone at an editorial meeting and called him a "Jewish mug." A similar state exists in the editorial offices of the newspaper Stavropol'skaya Pravda.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY